

CHURCH AND STATE

A MONTHLY REVIEW



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CBS Urged to Air Church-State Issues on Regular Program Basis

"A dignified hour of controversy on church-state issues once a month on national radio and TV networks" was suggested in a letter of March 21 by POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer to President Arthur H. Hayes of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Archer declared that this would be "a logical solution to the unpleasant battle now raging over freedom of the air for religious criticism." He offered as possible participants in such an "hour of controversy" two POAU leaders, Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, vice-president, and Paul Blanshard, author of *American Freedom and Catholic Power*.

Archer's move came after CBS had cancelled a radio talk by Father Thurston N. Davis, editor of the Jesuit weekly, *America*, on growing tensions between Catholics and Protestants, scheduled for delivery on the "Church of the Air" on March 10. CBS asked that Father Davis' address be less controversial and offered to work out plans for a future presentation in which a Catholic would be paired with a Protestant, expressing both sides of the issues discussed by Father Davis. A CBS spokesman declared: "We informed Father Davis that the style and general approach of his sermon did not fit with the program, which is inspirational and devotional in nature."

The CBS cancellation was immediately protested by Martin H. Work, executive director of the National Council of Catholic Men, who urged CBS to reconsider its position. The NCCM protested "a policy which limits religion to devotional and inspirational sermonettes," but it saw nothing wrong in permitting Father Davis to present only one side of the question of birth control, Catholic censorship, and the use of public money for parochial schools.

In his letter to Hayes, Archer de-

clared: "We agree with the National Council of Catholic Men in deploring the cancellation of Father Davis' program on the Church of the Air, but we do not see the solution suggested by the NCCM as feasible . . . we believe that CBS is right in suggesting the need of equal time to offset such a partisan treatment . . . the correct solution, we feel, is not suppression but valid controversy. . . ."

"We believe that such hours of honest controversy if produced regularly at monthly intervals would gain an immense and interested audience and would serve in the long run to promote tolerance and understanding . . . we believe that the American people would be better off if the issues which cause friction between great religious groups in this country were brought into the open and frankly dissected."

Davis Ducks

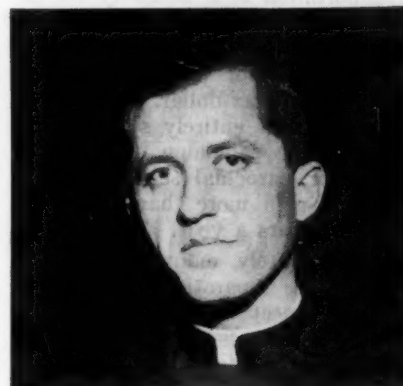
Later, Father Davis ducked POAU's challenge. There is nothing in POAU's record, he said (*New York Times*, Mar. 25), "to suggest that it is capable, or even desirous, of conducting what it calls a 'dignified hour' of church-state discussion. . . . What are you afraid of, Father Davis? Is it Oxnam and Blanshard? Or the truth? Or both?"



POAU, Pax Romana Ask UN Body To Act on Religious Oppression

Both POAU and an international organization of Roman Catholic students and scholars—Pax Romana—have asked the United Nations Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to take action against religious persecution in various parts of the world—but with a difference! Pax Romana's plea was entirely one-sided, showing concern only without regard to the identity of the victims—whether they "be, for ex-

Victim



DETROIT FREE PRESS

"I knew about the United States law against voting in a foreign country, but I was told by my superiors that if I went to the United States Consulate in Rome I would be applauded." So explained Father Bruno Durigon of the Franciscan order (above) as he appeared in a Detroit Federal Court on February 1 in an effort to regain the American citizenship he had lost by voting in the Italian elections of 1946 and 1948. The McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act provides loss of citizenship for certain acts implying allegiance to a foreign government, but the law has never been enforced against clerics more highly placed than Father Durigon—for instance, Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, who served for several years as Papal Nuncio (equivalent of Ambassador) to Ireland ("Church and State," March, 1953). Another American, Msgr. Joseph McGeough of New York, was appointed by Pope Pius XII on March 21 to head the newly created Apostolic Internunciature in Ethiopia, but there is no sign of any action by the U. S. Government to take away Msgr. McGeough's citizenship.

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The Bus Wedge

The Roman Catholic Church is making an intensive drive in many states for public funds for parochial school busses—Maine and Connecticut are the most recent conspicuous battle fronts. The school bus issue is becoming increasingly important and controversial. The school busses have become a major item in the modern educational enterprise. With the rapid growth of our cities and the consolidation of rural schools, bus transportation is a necessity for almost one-third of the nation's school children, and today transportation costs account for 4.5 cents of every public school tax dollar. If the Catholic Church is entirely successful in its national campaign to get bus funds for parochial schools, it will stand to gain more than thirty-five million dollars a year.

Unfortunately, many advocates of church-state separation are not prepared to meet the adroit and persuasive arguments that are advanced by Catholic leaders in favor of tax funds for their school busses. Here are a few basic facts:

Fact 1. It is not true that most of our states appropriate public funds for bus transportation for sectarian schools. Twenty-eight states do not, and among the twenty which do there are many which provide only partial transportation for sectarian pupils, e.g., when they live along public school bus routes. In recent years many states and cities have voted down the demands of the Catholic Church for such funds. There is no federal law which says that taxpayers must assume this financial burden, and Congress has repeatedly refused to appropriate federal funds for bus transportation for ordinary parochial schools.

Fact 2. The United States Supreme Court has never *approved* the expenditure of public funds for parochial school busses, or ruled that states *must* provide such funds, or declared that Constitutional rights of Catholic children will be violated if they are not given such service at public expense. All that the Supreme Court has done—in the famous 1947 New Jersey case of *Everson v. Board of Education* (330 U. S. 1)—is to rule by the narrowest possible margin, a five to four vote of judges, that the *federal* Constitution is not violated when a state permits state and local tax funds to be used to reim-

burse parents for parochial school bus expenditures.

This purely *permissive* ruling was based on the theory that bus transportation can be considered a welfare service to the child instead of a grant to the school, under the broad, general wording of the First Amendment, which does not mention schools. This decision does not protect such sectarian tax expenditures from the more specific prohibitions of many state constitutions and statutes—e.g., the state of Washington ruled such expenditures unconstitutional under its own state constitution in 1949, two years after the *Everson* decision, because its own prohibition against using public funds for sectarian schools is quite specific. Forty-six of the forty-eight state constitutions prohibit, in one way or another, the use of tax revenues by sectarian schools, and in many cases the language of state constitutions and statutes is precise enough to prevent bus expenditures for sectarian institutions. (The National Education Association has published an excellent legal analysis of this situation, "The State and Sectarian Education," which can be secured for 50c from the NEA, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.)

Misrepresentation

The Catholic Press frequently misrepresents the *Everson* decision by garbling a phrase from the Court's opinion to the effect that New Jersey "cannot exclude" Catholics or the members of any other church "because of their faith or lack of it, from receiving benefits of public welfare legislation." But the complete words of the Court on this subject say "cannot exclude *individual* Catholics," etc.: and the Court says flatly that "we do not mean to intimate that a state could not provide transportation only to children attending public schools."

Moreover, the brilliant dissenting opinions of four judges in the *Everson* case give hope that, in the light of the later *McCollum* decision in 1948, the Supreme Court will some day reverse itself and declare all tax expenditures of public money for sectarian busses unconstitutional because they are essentially payments to a church. This position is especially sound in the case of the Catholic Church because the Catholic school is an integral part of the church.

Fact 3. The denial of public money for sectarian busses does not involve "discrimination" or "double tax-

ation" for Catholic parents and children. Under American law all Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and atheist children are treated absolutely alike in educational rights; they are all offered free bus transportation when needed to the nation's public schools without discrimination, and the costs are met by the tax payments of all taxpayers regardless of faith. Catholic parents are not taxed twice; they are taxed once, like everybody else. But, since the priests have ordained a separate school system which is not free, Catholic parents must make a voluntary contribution to that system if they wish to use it. It is their own private choice. Some Lutherans, Episcopalians and Seventh-day Adventists make a similar choice for their own denominational schools, but they do not ask the taxpayers to pay for the choice. Only the Catholic Church asks that.

If all taxpayers were compelled to pay the cost of the separate Catholic schools that would be double tax assessment, once for the people's schools and once for the church's schools.

Fact 4. The Catholic demand for public bus money, partially disguised as "welfare funds," is part of a worldwide policy and program for general support of Catholic schools by public treasuries. Every concession to a bus demand is used as the precedent for those larger concessions which constitute the whole Catholic program. The truth of these assertions can be seen by a glance at the picture in Catholic countries. In those countries

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WHAT IT TOOK



RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

Mailbags filled with petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of persons protesting WGN-TV's ban on "Martin Luther" in Chicago had a lot to do with the inglorious retreat of Roman Catholic officials (who professed not to have approved the ban in the first place) and the decision by two other stations—WISN in Milwaukee and WBKB in Chicago—to televise the film. Emptying some of the bags in the picture above are (left to right) The Rev. Victor C. Rickman, public relations officer of the Action Committee for Freedom of Religious Expression; Dr. John W. Harms, committee chairman and executive vice-president of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago; and Dr. W. Alfred Diman, committee vice-chairman and executive secretary of the Chicago Baptist Association. Although the Action Committee acknowledges that "any dereliction of WGN cannot be cured by the deed of WBKB," it has withdrawn its request for an FCC review of WGN's right to license on the ground that progress has been made and its purpose is not punitive. Dr. Charles J. Anderson of the National Association of Evangelicals has dissented from the committee's decision, insisting that WGN's fitness to hold a license is still in question.

NEWS From Far and Near

◆ According to the Swiss Evangelical Press as quoted in *The Christian Century*, the son of Spain's foreign minister, Martin Artajo, who sometime ago embraced the Protestant faith, has now returned to the Roman Catholic Church. The report speaks of the terrific pressure to which the young man was subjected because of his father's conspicuous role.

◆ Governors of 12 states and Commissioners of the District of Columbia joined in proclaiming March 29 "Knights of Columbus Day." The organization was cited by four legislatures for upholding "American and spiritual ideals." (At its last national convention in Cleveland the Knights called for full U. S. diplomatic representation at the Vatican.)

◆ Seventh-day Adventists were urged by Dr. Reuben R. Figuhr, their world president, to observe March 30 as a day of fasting and prayer for Protestants suffering persecution in Colombia. Said Dr. Figuhr: "Ten of our members were (recently) slain, and homes have been destroyed, churches burned and nearly 200 of our members imprisoned."

◆ From Colombia a quote: "The work you are doing in POAU to maintain the great principle of separation of Church and State is magnificent. I never really appreciated the importance of this principle until I lived under a government dominated by the Roman Catholic Church."

◆ The World Presbyterian Alliance through its Commission on Civil and Religious Liberty, on March 13 urged a meeting between Protestant leaders and Vatican authorities with the object of ending persecution of Protestants in Roman Catholic-dominated countries. The secretary of the World Council of Churches was requested to join in such discussions.

The Bus Wedge

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some public financial support of this type is almost automatic—in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, West Germany, Eire, Quebec and at least nine nations of the Americas, the church gets public money for its enterprises in one way or another.

In 1948 the Catholic Bishops of the United States, in an official statement, "The Christian in Action," denounced the Supreme Court for supporting Jefferson's doctrine of "the wall of separation between church and state" and announced themselves in favor of an interpretation of the First Amendment which would permit federal money to be used to support all the major activities of all sectarian schools. A similar philosophy, partially camouflaged by the word "welfare," was reiterated in the American Bishops' statement in November, 1955. In April of that same year, *The Catholic World* in an editorial letter on parochial school buildings, addressed to President Eisenhower, used the Everson bus decision as a "precedent," saying:

The questions really resolve themselves in one main question: is the Federal Government planning to offer any help toward the building of non-public schools? . . . in the matter of erecting new school buildings, it's obvious that American children are entitled to the benefits of public welfare legislation regardless of race, creed or color. That was the decision of the United States Supreme Court in February 1947, upholding a New Jersey state statute providing free bus transportation for children attending Catholic schools. American youth, whether Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, have a right to be educated in school buildings that have decent physical facilities.

First busses; then school buildings; then what? And all in the name of "welfare"!

Yes, the Catholic demand for school bus money is only an entering wedge, driven into the heart of the wall of separation between church and state by a powerful, world-wide organization which stands wherever possible for state religion and the union of church and state. Americans who are alert to the danger may just as well take their stand here as farther back. To retreat would only be interpreted as a sign of weakness; to defend our heritage should be counted a privilege by every true American.

P. B.

(This editorial by Paul Blanshard will be reprinted as a leaflet and distributed in bundle lots, 5c a single copy; 100 for \$3.00; 500 for \$10,000.)

Public School Graduates Have Edge Over Others, Comparison Reveals

"It seems to be a common belief that students from public high schools tend to be handicapped academically in comparison with students from private schools," two educational specialists observed in an article published in *The Journal of Teacher Education* in March, 1955. They then proceeded to give the results of a survey they had made on the subject, demonstrating that the "common belief" was a myth.

Junius A. Davis of Emory University and Norman Frederiksen of Princeton University and Educational Testing Service, writing on "Public and Private School Graduates in College," cited the data they had accumulated in inquiring into "how public and private school students of similar ability compare with respect to grades at Princeton," and concluded that performance records at both the college-freshman and college-sophomore levels showed public school graduates to be generally superior.

Their study, they explained, was "based on all members of the class of 1955 who were candidates for the AB degree and for whom appropriate data were available. . . . The measures of ability employed were the Converted School Grade and the Verbal Section of the College Board Scholastic Aptitude Test. . . ."

The data, Davis and Frederiksen reported, pointed to conclusions "in agreement with the results of a similar study carried out in three liberal arts colleges. [Norman Frederiksen, and W. B. Schrader, *Adjustment to College* (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1951).]"

"... in the sophomore year of college, means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations were computed for the students who completed the sophomore year. . . ." they continued. "The public school group is seen in Table 3 to be superior to the private school group with respect to mean Term Average Grade, Converted School Grade, and Sophomore Average Grade. . . ."

"... Public school graduates earned higher grades than private school graduates of equal ability, whether ability is measured by Term Average Grade, Converted School Grade, SAT-V, or the term grade and the Converted School Grade used in combination. . . . Indeed, even when ability is controlled on the basis of achievement in the first term of the freshman year, the public school graduates are superior to the private school graduates in Sophomore Average Grade."

Spokesmen for parochial and other private school interests have been

fond of making completely unsupported assertions about the alleged superiority of their school systems over the public school system. By contrast, investigators who have painstakingly conducted genuine research into the question have quietly published their findings—like Davis and Frederiksen—in the scholarly journals, unread by the general public. *Church and State* thus feels that it is performing a public service by reviewing the Davis-Frederiksen study here.

Data Scarce

State School Laws and Standards, POAU's 1954 survey (*Church and State*, September, 1954), showed that the supervision exercised by public educational authorities over private elementary and secondary schools is more theoretical than real, and that in many cases the states have not even attempted to formulate minimum standards which must be met by non-public as well as public schools. As POAU pointed out, public authorities usually do not know the answer to the question, "Are private and parochial school pupils in the United States given a basic education 'equivalent' to that given public school pupils?" They have not attempted to find out—although the compulsory education laws imply a duty on their part to do so—because of their fear of a smoke-screen attack from vested interests who would shout "Tyranny!" or "Statism!"

In discussing this complex problem, *Church and State* is motivated by a desire to throw light in an area where there is already too much heat. Internecine strife among public and private school systems is neither desirable nor inevitable, but the false attacks on public education must and shall be refuted. As POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer declared in a statement of May 11, 1951:

"The defense of the public schools must not be turned into warfare upon the private schools. By the same token, defense of the private schools must not be turned into warfare upon the public schools."

Church Keeps Its Marriage Monopoly

Moves to tighten the monopoly-control of marriage enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church in Spain and Guatemala have recently been successful. In the former country there has been considerable agitation to give civil authorities more latitude in marriage arrangements. A development in this direction, it was hoped, might eventually open the way for Protestant ceremonies.

All such hopes have been dashed by Franco's latest decree on the subject. The decree actually makes the plight of Protestants more difficult than before. The decree provides (according to Religious News Service, Feb. 18) that any couples who had originally been baptized as Catholics must notify the local judge of their intention to marry. The judge, in turn, is obligated to notify the local priest. The priest then has 30 days to raise objections, if any, to the marriage. If there are objections, the case must go to higher authorities. Then begins a process of elaborate delay which makes the cluttered calendars of American courts look like racing jets.

The injustice of this arrangement is plain: it places the Protestant couple at the mercy of the sworn enemies of their faith. The dilemma the couple must face is this: either they consent to marriage before a Roman priest and promise to educate their children in that faith—the equivalent of renouncing their own faith—or they can't get married.

The problem is somewhat different in Guatemala where poverty-stricken couples have been skipping marriage ceremonies altogether because of their high cost. Couples desiring to marry were caught in a vise due to the dual pattern of Church-State control. First they had to pay a fat fee to the government for the numerous technical services involved in getting a license; then a fatter fee to the church.

The new decree (*New York Times*, Feb. 17) halves the government cost and simplifies the procedures. It does nothing about the church's requirements, however. Both government and church hope that couples will now meet all legal and ecclesiastical conditions for marriage, and, incidentally, that they will pay both fees. Señor Garcia Bauer, speaking for Archbishop Mariano, says they hope the government will eliminate itself altogether from the marriage field and defer entirely to the church.

Pile of Bills Would Give Tax Exemption on Tuition

Nearly a score of bills providing income tax exemptions for parents paying tuition for the private schooling of their children have been introduced into the current session of Congress at the same time that similar proposals are being pushed in various states.

At least three of the federal bills would aid parents of children in non-public elementary and secondary schools. Rep. Gerald R. Ford, Jr., of Michigan bluntly specified in his H. R. 645 that parents of pupils in "a primary or secondary school conducted on a religious basis by an organization organized and operated for religious or educational purposes" may list the tuition payments as tax-exempt contributions or gifts. Congressmen William E. McVey of Illinois and Paul A. Fino of New York refer broadly in their bills (H. R. 2468 and H. R. 5469, respectively) to parents of children in "any elementary or high school" (McVey) and in "any school or other educational institution" (Fino).

A larger number of bills would provide exemption for costs of higher education. A 30 per cent credit is provided for in H. R. 490 by Frank Thompson of New Jersey, H. R. 712 by Mrs. Edna F. Kelly of New York, H. R. 765 by Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, H. R. 1036 by Herbert Zelenko of New York, H. R. 1064 by Hale Boggs of Louisiana, H. R. 4396 by Donald L. Jackson of California, H. R. 4594 by George M. Rhodes of Pennsylvania, H. R. 4597 by James Roosevelt of California, and H. R. 5684 by Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky. Varying bases for deduction are provided in H. R. 808 by Abraham Multer of New York, H. R. 3113 and 3114 by James W. Trimble of Arkansas, and H. R. 4419 by Peter W. Rodino of New Jersey. All the bills have been referred to a subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Minnesota

On the state level, a struggle has been launched in Minnesota to repeal a law allowing a \$200 exemption for parents of non-public elementary and secondary pupils. Alan R. Anderson, chairman of the Greater Minneapolis council of churches' public affairs department, charges that the existing law "was passed by the last legislature with practically no publicity," and that it threatens the public school

system by providing "indirect tax support for private and parochial schools." Supporters of the law, for their part, are backing a bill to raise the exemption to \$300. Roman Catholic Archbishop William O. Brady of St. Paul, writing in the archdiocesan *Catholic Bulletin*, commented that "Brotherhood Week for 1957 is now definitely over" and accused Protestant leaders of hypocrisy because their schools and colleges, too, "have had transfusions through GI grants. . . ." (For POAU's analysis of the GI-Bill argument, see *Church and State*, January.)

In New York State, *The New York Times* of March 14 reported that Governor Harriman "was critical of a tax bill before him for action but did not say whether he would veto it. The Republican-sponsored measure would allow a \$400 deduction for income tax purposes for each child in college."

And an Associated Press dispatch of March 6 from Chicago reported that the National Conference on Higher Education had adopted a resolution favoring federal income-tax relief for parents of college students—but the story had a unique twist: "It [the Conference] tabled another proposal for federal support of widened college extension work, after surprise opposition developed." The "surprise" opposition came from the Rev. Edward B. Rooney, president of the Jesuit Educational Association, New York, who said that though the idea appeared to have some value, it did not follow that "we should . . . run to the Federal Government" for aid when the objective might be accomplished "through states and municipalities."

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Parochial Parents Present Ultimatum

An ultimatum to the Augusta, Maine school board and city council fizzled out on March 10 when parents of parochial pupils there voted 283-121 not to "dump" their 900 pupils simultaneously on the public schools.

The idea of using the parochial school children as a club to coerce the school board apparently originated with William H. Bean, an ardent Roman Catholic convert. Bean, with three children in parochial school, felt very strongly that transportation to this institution which he had selected for his own private interest and advantage had to be provided by the public.

Bean and his followers attempted to intimidate the officials. They threatened to confuse and even wreck the public schools by "jamming" them with 900 parochial pupils all to be enrolled the same day. Local Roman Catholic priests claimed they were following a "hands off" policy. Very interesting, however, was the statement that the parochial schools "would remain open if the students are withdrawn and will welcome the children back when the controversy has been settled."

Had Bean and his followers been interested in solving the transportation problem, this could have been simply done by transferring 187 children to public schools. This was the number of parochial children actually claiming to need transportation. It was apparently not Bean's idea to solve the problem but to exploit it for all it was worth. His idea was to establish the principle of public support for sectarian education. It would seem that he gave no thought at all to the damaging effect on children of summarily jerking them out and in and out and in the two school systems.

The decisive break came when Perry F. Shibles, superintendent of Augusta's schools, moved to meet the challenge by enrolling the parochial pupils on a split session basis, sessions to run 8:30-12:15 and 12:30-4:15. Their ultimatum rejected, the Roman Catholic parents began to give ground. A meeting Sunday afternoon, March 10, was addressed by Mayor Carey. He urged the parents not to transfer their children until a court test could be made to determine the legal status of providing parochial bus transportation from public funds.

To make possible such a test the city council voted a token grant of \$100 which would then be challenged in the courts. Dr. William A. Cook, veteran of a similar struggle a decade ago in N. College Hill, Ohio and a POAU staff member, went to Augusta during the crisis and attended a meeting of local leaders who were determined to carry the test to Maine's high court. The leader of the religious-liberty forces, the Rev. Harvey Ammerman, pastor of the Congregational Church, has already received telephone threats of physical violence from fanatical Roman Catholics.

Dr. Cook's investigations revealed a pattern of Roman Catholic encroachment familiar to POAU members. The parochial bus transportation so vigorously resisted in Augusta had been going on without challenge in some areas.

Appeal to UN

(Continued from page 1)

ample, adherents of Baha'i in Iran, Jehovah's Witnesses in Quebec and in Communist countries, Protestants in Spain, Italy and Colombia, Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews alike in the Soviet orbit, Old Calendar Sect members and evangelicals in Greece, non-Lutherans in Scandinavian countries, Jews wishing to enter into mixed marriages in Israel—to mention a variety of forms which the problem takes. . . ."

POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer, in an open letter sent on March 6 to Edward Lawson, secretary of the UN subcommission, wrote:

I understand that religious discrimination and discrimination in education have been among the subjects of discussion as the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities nears the end of its ninth session at United Nations, N. Y. Accordingly, I am writing to you in order to place before the subcommission the views of this organization—representing American citizens of many faiths and creeds—that certain practices, prevalent in all too many countries, merit the clearest condemnation of the United Nations if any headway is to be made against the evils which the subcommission is dedicated to combatting.

Morse Statement

Only a few days ago—on March 1, to be exact—Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon dealt in detail with the case of Colombia in an address in the United States Senate, a copy of which I enclose. You will note that Senator Morse, in discussing "the difficulties which many United States Protestant missionaries have experienced . . . and regrettably are still experiencing," goes on to say:

"The basic difficulty stems from the Colombian Government's interpretation of an agreement which it made with the Vatican in 1953 and which gives the Roman Catholic Church special privileges and support in areas designated as 'mission territories' (between two-thirds and three-fourths of the entire country)."

The Colombian situation—besides bringing death and injury to scores and causing destruction of church property—has also poisoned the atmosphere of the country's schools, since governmental action has been largely directed towards limiting non-Catholic religious instruction while giving state support to Roman Catholic indoctrination.

It matters little which church happens to be the "established" one in any nation practicing the union of church and state. The effect of that system is always unfavorable to freedom. As this organization has observed in its publication, *Church and State* (May, 1956): "The strife resulting from the union of church and state . . . varies according to the intensity with which the union is carried out in practice—from the appalling bloodshed and desecration of church property in Colombia to the relatively inconsequential feeling of frustration suffered by Britain's Anglican clerics when they have to go to freethinkers in Parlia-

ment for permission to change their Book of Common Prayer."

Whether the victims of state religious control be, for example, adherents of Baha'i in Iran, Jehovah's Witnesses in Quebec and in Communist countries, Protestants in Spain, Italy and Colombia, Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews alike in the Soviet orbit, Old Calendar Sect members and evangelicals in Greece, non-Lutherans in Scandinavian countries, Jews wishing to enter into mixed marriages in Israel—to mention a variety of forms which the problem takes—the principle is the same. An effective United Nations championship of religious freedom would require even-handed condemnation of all such practices, and of the basic system from which the evil practices spring: the union of church and state.

Golden Rule

The way to world-wide eradication of religious oppression is through universal application of the Golden Rule. This would mean strict government non-interference in religious affairs, and recognition on the part of all church leaders that religious freedom is a two-way street. In the summer of 1956 Evangelical Bishop Otto Dibelius of Berlin called upon his Roman Catholic counterpart, Joseph Cardinal Frings of Cologne, to use his influence in support of the religious rights of Protestants in Spain. Both Catholics and Protestants, Bishop Dibelius pointed out, had suffered deprivation of rights under Hitler, and both churches should mutually agree on the evils of government control. Bishop Dibelius, in short was calling for the application of the Golden Rule, but his plea fell on deaf ears. Earlier that year, Britain's Duke of Norfolk, a Roman Catholic, had "insisted on religious freedom as the foundation of any lasting peace" with Soviet Russia, whereupon Dr. Geoffrey Francis Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, called upon Roman Catholic leaders to recognize the same "foundation" for restoring peace to dissension-ridden Malta, whose integration with Great Britain was being held up by Roman Catholic insistence on a continued government-guaranteed monopoly position for the Church. The Pope himself, in a September 2, 1956 radio address to "Catholic Day" celebrants in Cologne, Germany, declared that the Roman Catholic Church would accept nothing less than full freedom as the minimum condition prerequisite to any establishment of friendly relations with the Communist world. He specified that such freedom must include recognition of the Church's function of "taking care of its faithful and preaching freely the message of Jesus Christ. . . ." Are not the other churches equally justified, then, in insisting on the same full freedom for their activities, too?

Glass Houses

There is a popular saying about "people who live in glass houses," which is said to have originated in England after the Duke of Buckingham led a mob to throw stones through Puritans' windows, only to become, himself, the victim of a retaliatory stone-throwing attack on his own house, which had many windows. I believe that this story, with its moral, might appropriately be driven home to the leaders of the world's governments. Cannot the United Nations Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

help to drive the moral home by taking strong action in condemnation of the "Dukes of Buckingham" who, in too many areas, are directing police actions and stone-throwing attacks against the windows of rival houses?

I hope that the subcommission will carefully consider the possibility of action such as I have suggested, and advise me of its decision at an early date.

'Certain' Cases

For its part, Pax Romana, according to an NC (National Catholic Welfare Conference press service) story published in *Our Sunday Visitor* on March 24, charged only "that certain Eastern European countries make it virtually impossible for their students to receive religious instructions. . . ." Over the objections of A. A. Fomin of the Soviet Union, according to the *Visitor*, the statement of Edward Kirchner, Pax Romana's permanent UN representative, was included in a "Study of Discrimination in Education" prepared for the subcommission by Charles D. Ammoun of Lebanon. Judge Philip Halpern of the United States insisted on inclusion of Pax Romana's presentation in the report, as did Judge Jose D. Ingles of the Philippine Islands, and several other subcommission members.

Secretary Lawson acknowledged receipt of Archer's statement in a letter of March 19, and observed:

"This information has been forwarded to Dr. Arcot Krishnaswami, who has been appointed by the Sub-Commission . . . to carry out its study of discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices."

Lowell, Blanshard Address Meetings

Paul Blanshard, special counsel of POAU, and C. Stanley Lowell, associate director, spoke to 700 persons in the Masonic Temple, Jacksonville, Fla., on March 8. Lowell addressed a public meeting at Statesville, N. C., March 10, under the leadership of the Rev. Wendell G. Davis, who is POAU chairman for the Statesville Baptist Association. The meeting was held at First Baptist Church of that city. On Monday, March 11, Lowell conducted a religious liberty seminar for the Statesville Ministerial Association. On the following day, March 12, he spoke at a religious liberty rally on the campus of Campbell College, Dunn, N. C. The meeting was held in Buies Creek Baptist Church with the Rev. Ernest Russell as presiding officer. Many students attended.

Calls Lincoln Square Plans Discriminatory

"I believe Mr. [Robert] Moses will find some technicality for disqualifying us if we bid against St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Church, Fordham University or any of the other sponsors he has virtually selected," an Eastern Orthodox priest told a March 14 meeting of the New York City POAU chapter in a discussion of alleged discrimination by the planners of the Lincoln Square redevelopment project (*Church and State*, December, 1956 and March, 1957). The Rev. Gregory R. P. Adair addressed the gathering in the building of his own church, the Cathedral of Our Savior, at 215 West 69th Street.

The Rev. G. Barrett Rich, chairman, declared that the POAU chapter supported Father Adair in his position that his church should either be spared demolition or should be replaced with a new structure built by the city if the latter insisted on making it a victim of the Lincoln Square project. Father Adair contrasted the attitude of city officials towards St. Matthew's Church with their attitude towards his church. He said that Lincoln Square plans called for rebuilding the Roman Catholic institution on a new and larger site at a publicly-subsidized markdown, and with the owners receiving the full appraisal price for the old property, while no provision at all had been made for the Eastern Orthodox church. (The Presbyterian Church of the Good Shepherd, also in the area, is unaffected by the plans; St. Cyprian's Protestant Episcopal Church, like Father Adair's church, is marked for demolition without replacement in the project.)

Meanwhile, a sudden announcement in Washington by an official of the Urban Renewal Administration on March 17 raised doubt that such projects as Lincoln Square will ever get off the ground—quite apart from the merits of the arguments pro and con. Acting Director Richard L. Steiner of the urban renewal body said that the agency was running out of authority to promise money for new city projects. In New York, Harris L. Present, attorney for the 219 West Sixty-sixth Street Corporation, asked Supreme Court Justice Samuel Gold to bar use of city funds for a Lincoln Square tenants' relocation information center. Present argued that it would be illegal for the city to expend any funds

when the project was still in the planning stage, and added that the cut-back in federal funds might well doom the whole thing, in which case the city could be held liable if any neighborhood resident suffered damages. Chairman Moses of the city slum clearance committee denied that city funds or personnel were being used to maintain the office, and Justice Gold reserved decision.

The New York POAU chapter has published an excellent illustrated brochure entitled: *LINCOLN SQUARE: A Slum Clearance Project That Endangers Religious Freedom*.



Boston, Mass.

The new chapter is sponsoring two meetings at Bates Hall in the YMCA on April 9. POAU Director of Organization Mayne will speak to the clergy at 10 a.m., and to a public meeting at 7:30 p.m.

Roanoke, Va.

Chapter president Luther Vann has invited POAU Associate Director Lowell to speak at a public rally, Sunday afternoon, May 19, in the Greene Memorial Methodist Church. A direct mail campaign to promote attendance and secure new members is being carried on during April.

Baltimore, Md.

The year-old Baltimore Chapter held a dinner meeting recently at the YMCA. Executive Director Archer and Press Relations Director Lichtenstein spoke.

Portland, Me.

The temporary committee formally organized a chapter last month on the occasion of staff assistant Cook's address. The chapter charter has been awarded, and will be presented formally on the night of a public rally, planned to inform citizens of the latest developments in the drive for parochial school bus transportation.

Portsmouth, Va.

Glenn L. Archer spoke before the ministers of the city. A new chapter is in the process of organization.

Toledo, O.

Executive Director Archer spoke in Toledo recently before a large group of invited guests and chapter leaders.

Danville, Va.

Associate Director Lowell will speak at a county-wide rally in the city hall of Danville on May 2, at 8 o'clock. A chapter organizing com-

mittee and promotional group is at work.

Albuquerque, N. M.

The chapter now issues an informative monthly "Clip Sheet" to its membership and prospects. Organization Director Mayne met with the chapter committee "between trains" on his return from the 9th Conference.

Farmington, N. Mex.

This chapter was organized by the Albuquerque POAU leaders, and has chosen as its president, the Rev. Anthem Wade. It is one of a dozen projected chapters in New Mexico.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Chapter Office Manager William Eytel reports that more than 600 new members were added to Chapter rolls as a result of the 9th Conference sessions held during February. This chapter is doing "missionary work" in organizing new chapters at Redondo Beach, Pasadena, and Camarillo.

Santa Monica, Calif.

The official charter was presented to chapter officials in January when Associate Director Lowell and Organization Director Mayne were in attendance before the 9th Conference. The Los Angeles chapter must receive credit for launching this vigorous new group.

POAU Booth at Convention.

National POAU had a booth in the exhibition hall at Hotel Statler, Buffalo, during the convention of the National Association of Evangelicals. Mr. Mayne was in charge. He met with Buffalo POAU officials while in the city.

NEW MATERIALS READY

Truth Series (New)

- No. 1. POAU: Program-Purpose-Hope.
- No. 5. Do Catholics Owe Allegiance to a Foreign Power?
- No. 6. NO—I Won't Send My Child to a Roman Catholic Parochial School
- No. 7. Unity
(Single copy—5c; 10 copies [assorted] 25c; 100—\$2; 1000—\$12.50)
- Let's Think It Through—My Reply to the Archbishop, by Glenn L. Archer (Single copy 5c; \$2 per hundred.)
- "The Bus Wedge," by Paul Blanshard (Single copy 5c; 30 copies \$1.00; 100 copies \$2.00; 500 copies \$8.00.)

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'PRIVATE' AUDIENCE!



Although it had been rumored that Vice-President Nixon, during his March 17th visit to the Pope (above), would announce a decision of the Eisenhower administration to appoint an American ambassador to the Vatican, the subject was not even mentioned and the Vice-President told newspapermen he anticipated no change in United States policy. Mrs. Nixon, a Methodist, kissed the Pope's ring before television cameras and received a gold rosary. Her husband wore striped trousers and a cut-away coat and received a papal gold medal in an ivory case. He and the Pope covered Africa, Asia, the cold war and world peace in twenty minutes of a "private audience."

Italian Tribunal Breaks Police Power Over Sects

If all men "have the right to profess their own faith in any manner, individually or in groups . . ." (as provided in the Italian Constitution), can they be required to give "notice . . . at least three days in advance to the police commissioner" of their intention to hold public or group worship, (as provided in the Public Security Laws adopted under Mussolini)?

This was the essential question decided by the Constitutional High Court in Rome on March 18 when it

held Article 25 of the Public Security Laws unconstitutional. Religious gatherings, Italy's supreme court declared, may be held without previous notice to the police. The case under review went back three years to the time when a Protestant preacher named Umberto Lasco had been sentenced to 15 days in jail for holding a service in a private home in Sant'Ilario, without benefit of police permission.

Only a Step

With the new decision, Italy takes another step forward on the road to religious freedom, but as *Church and State* has pointed out before (e. g.,

CHURCH AND STATE

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March and December, 1954), the country will never achieve complete freedom for all until the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat with the Vatican are abrogated. When one church is "top dog," all other churches are under-dogs.

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National Council Says No to Vatican Envoy

Massive blows for religious liberty were struck at the March meeting of the General Board of the National Council of Churches. The board met in Williamsburg, Va., and the environment of Jefferson and Madison appeared to have strong effect upon the members.

Emphatic

Decisive language was employed in the report on civil and religious liberties, particularly in the denunciation of the continued effort to obtain U. S. representation at the Vatican. Protestant church-goers were urged to unite against what the report described as "new moves" toward this goal. "Important groups of lay Catholics" are now insisting that a fully-accredited representative must be sent to the Vatican, it was said.

McIntyre Plan

The NCC board report also decried the drive to secure tax funds for tuition payments of children attending sectarian schools. Referring to such a program (the proposal was originally advocated by Cardinal McIntyre in a speech at Dallas, Texas) the Board denounced it as an "insidious threat to the public schools." It added that any such plan to use public funds for tuition of children in private or sectarian schools will bring "the sure destruction of the public schools that we have known and cherished."

TV Censorship

In a third pronouncement the General Board sent a telegram to WGN-TV in Chicago stating that the opposition to its showing of the film "Martin Luther" was based on misinformation or bias. It noted its regret that the station had not as yet rescinded the cancellation of the film. "Yielding to such opposition travesties the First Amendment to the constitution of the United States," the statement concluded.